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ABSTRACT

An appraisal is made of work accomplished by the International Institute for Labour Studies during the period 1965-1970, and guidelines for future development are suggested. Educational work accomplished by the institute since 1965 followed the general purpose of providing leadership education for those in labor and social policy fields. Related to this are identification of the target group, approaches and methods, the need for financing to provide materials and teaching fellowship, and the institutes internship courses. Institute research has concentrated on the general area of social relations and social organization. The research has included symposia on migration, wages, and inflation; a comparative study of workers' participation in management; a research project on strategic factors in industrial relations; research in the field of social participation in transitional societies; and the establishment of International Industrial Relations Associations. In addition to books, the institute also publishes the ILLS Bulletin. Future directions of the institute in education and research work concern future trends in industrial relations, in social policy, transnational labor relations, social participation and organization building in transitional societies, and the promotion of labor studies. (DB)

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FOR LABOUR STUDIES

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The International Institute for Labour Studies: Appraisal and Forward Look

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The International Institute for Labour Studies: Appraisal and Forward Look*

The year 1971 will mark the end of one phase of the Institute's growth and the beginning of another. The history to date of the Institute can be divided roughly into two phases. During the first, from 1960 to 1964, the Institute became operational by launching its first educational activities and began to consider its role in research. The second, from 1965 to 1970, began with a clarification of the Institute's goals and continued with the gradual working out of a strategy towards the achievement of these goals. At the beginning of this second phase the Board took a basic option : to concentrate on ideas rather than on numbers. The Institute was to become a laboratory for leadership education rather than a training centre the output of which would be measured by the number of trainees. Consistent with this concept of the Institute as a place for the development of ideas, a balance was to be struck between education and research activities. The Institute was also to be a forum for dispassionate discussion among policy makers and academic specialists about current social policy issues. The course chosen was in line with the original aims of the Institute, which had been intended to become "an institution for higher social studies", "a source of new ideas", and to work towards "deeper understanding ... of the process of social change and its practical implications for labour relations and labour policy".[1]

Progress and experience during this second phase of the Institute's growth suggest guidelines for future development – for the third phase soon to begin. The present report includes some suggestions in this regard framed against the background of an appraisal of the work accomplished during the period 1965-70.

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* From a report by the Director of the Institute, Robert W. Cox, to the meeting of its Board on 23 February 1971.

[1] Statements made by the Director-General of the International Labour Office, David A. Morse, in 1958-1959 and reproduced in the brochure entitled : *International Institute for Labour Studies—Establishment by the Governing Body of the International Office* (Geneva, ILO, 1960).

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I. Appraisal, 1965-70

The creation of the Institute was a response to the awareness of a need for objective studies of labour problems and for further education for persons concerned with making social policy. This is, of course, a task of which the Institute alone could never hope to acquit itself. As with any specialised international institution, the Institute's work would be effective to the extent that it became linked with and extended by that of local, national or regional institutions carrying on similar activities in all parts of the world. University departments and university-related institutes of labour and industrial relations are in this respect the natural counterparts of the Institute.

Ideally, these centres, working in intellectual independence and committed to objectivity, should help to deepen critical understanding of labour problems, to train the personnel needed to manage labour affairs, and to assist policy-makers through relevant research. Some centres in some countries are performing in this way; but looking over the world as a whole, this ideal is far from realised. The intellectual independence of universities is not always respected. Academics are sometimes remote from practical affairs and practitioners often underrate the value of independent studies of issues with which they deal—two negative tendencies which tend to reinforce each other. University education sometimes follows a classical pattern and is ill-adapted to the education of potential policy-makers. These are widespread weaknesses to be overcome, but the aroused concern in virtually all parts of the world with educational and especially university reform now seems to open the prospect of change. At least it may be useful at this time to have some ideas as to the direction in which to try to channel change. The role of the Institute in this context is to promote contacts and build confidence between academic specialists and practitioners of labour policy; to encourage the reform of curricula bringing university education into line with society's needs in the labour field; to encourage the basic research necessary for an understanding of

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social processes and the applied research required to clarify policy options ; and to stress the responsibility of the universities not only for the basic preparation of their students but also for the continuing educational needs of those beyond the university who are active in industrial and public affairs, especially trade unionists and managers.

The Institute can at best be an exemplar and a stimulus to such activity. The basic notion underlying the development of the Institute's work during recent years has thus been one of growing interaction with the world-wide academic community in the labour and social studies field. This has meant attracting intellectual support and participation in Institute activities from academic institutions and scientific bodies in different countries where they exist ; and it has also meant endeavouring to help build up centres for labour studies where there are none and to encourage scholarship in this field where it is now rare. An appraisal of educational and research work since 1965 has to be looked at in the light of this aim.

I. Education

Education for leadership responsibility in the labour and social policy field has been given as the general objective of the Institute's educational work. To state this purpose is to raise at least three difficult questions, namely :

- Who are the potential leaders in this field ?
- What kind of education would be most useful to them in approaching their leadership responsibilities ?
- How can the Institute's necessarily limited investment in education achieve the widest impact ?

Identifying the Target Group

The need for leadership education arises in the context of development or modernisation in the Third World. Modernisation is a multi-faceted process of change in economics and politics,

in social relations, attitudes and ideas, and in organisations. The impetus to change can come from a variety of individuals in different fields of activity within a country who collectively may be thought of as the modernisers or modernising leadership. They may include some doctors, lawyers and engineers, soldiers and economists, bankers and business men, religious and labour leaders and politicians. Occupational category or formal position is much less important than a deep concern for guiding changes which are perceived to be necessary to assure an acceptable future. Modernisers, whatever their field, are future-oriented. The Institute addresses its educational work to this group : in the first place to those who will be especially concerned with influencing and making social and labour policy for the future ; but in the second place also to those who will deal with other areas of public policy (for example, industrialisation, economic planning, educational development and so forth) who could usefully be made more sensitive to the social dimensions of policy.

There is no ready method to identify the specific individuals who within any particular country correspond to this description of modernising leadership. Ideally, it would be desirable to study each society closely in order to know more precisely where to find these individuals. Using the ILO's tripartite net catches some of them ; but this is a useful point of departure rather than a full or sufficient answer to the Institute's search for the right participants. Depending upon the country, labour administrators, trade unionists and employer organisation representatives may be influential in the shaping of social policy ; but influence on these policy issues is not usually confined to them. Others from other areas of activity must also continually be sought out.

In practice, the Institute has concentrated its search efforts mainly within the ILO's tripartite channels. Recruitment has also been broadened to include the university teachers in view of their role both in influencing social policy and in furthering labour studies.

Other experiments in broadening the recruitment of participants have been special seminars held separately for engineers and

social scientists from Latin America. Engineers are a significant group of potential modernisers whose training is in technology but whose responsibilities extend in practice to social policy. Social scientists can be influential in shaping the general programmes and policies of government and the curriculum of universities and thus greater insight on their part into the role and problems of labour in development would seem to be desirable.

In countries short of trained cadres, candidates occupying posts of responsibility sometimes find it difficult to take the time to attend courses or seminars; but in these countries the students of today are likely to become influential policy-makers within the relatively near future. Thus it is useful for the Institute to recruit some students as participants in its educational activities, especially those who are already at the higher levels of education and are studying in disciplines most relevant to the labour field.

The search for the right kind of participant in the Institute's educational activities must be a continuing one. The Institute should therefore conserve great flexibility in its prospection and selection of participants.

Approaches and Methods

What kind of education should be devised for future policy-makers ? The answer should flow from the nature of policy-making, which can be thought of as the co-ordination of a variety of instruments to achieve coherent goals. The policy-maker's concern is therefore with both the coherence of the goals and the suitability of the instruments. He (or she) stands at the point of convergence of demands from different segments of the society; and must think through the inter-relationships among the different aspects of policy. Although the policy-maker is not essentially an "expert", he should know how to use the knowledge of experts in different fields and of those who manage the different instruments of policy.

Governmental policy-makers have the job of putting together a programme which specifies aims and means, drawing upon the

knowledge of specialists and responding to the needs and demands of various groups. Persons from employer or trade union circles who are in a position to influence government policy-making must similarly be in a position to think through coherent alternatives to the programmes presented to them for consideration. Trade union and employer leaders also have to know how to adjust their own organisations' policies to the changing economic and social environment.

The approach evolved by the Institute in its recent educational courses is that of "decision-making". The courses attempt to show how problems are identified as requiring policy decisions, what kinds of information are required for the analysis of these problems, what are the competing claims from other areas of policy, how conflicting demands from different groups may be reconciled and how solutions can be found for a particular problem which are consistent with a country's general development goals.

Increasing use has been made of simulation as an educational method. Simulation, in the sense used here, is an attempt to reproduce a policy-framing situation in simplified terms. It can take various forms, including the use of case studies, of the "workshop" approach and of computer-based models of economic and other systems. Participants play the role of decision-makers so that their needs for information and for analytical techniques are elicited in the course of this educational exercise. The more conventional lecture method, followed by group discussions, is also used as well as simulation in order to ensure that participants have a familiarity with the main issues of economic and social development, manpower and industrial relations. Simulation has been found to be an effective method in programmes which cater to mature participants. One particular simulation exercise has been developed during the past two years : a computer-based exercise in the co-ordination of manpower, educational and economic planning in a developing country. It is now planned to develop further exercises of this kind, for example, one which will deal with wage fixing at the

national level involving trade union, employer and public interests.

The decision-making approach and the use of simulation, the salient feature of the international study courses convened in Geneva, have been adapted in the case of regional seminars. Because they concern a limited number of countries, regional seminars can give more attention in greater depth to the particular issues in the labour and social policy field arising in these countries. An attempt is made to set these issues within the framework of broad changes in the social and economic structures of the countries concerned. Where possible, discussion of labour problems is based upon carefully prepared documentation which in many cases fills gaps in available information ; and participants are organised in working groups to discuss and report on the topic studied by the seminar. This enables all participants to acquire a comparative perspective by becoming more familiar with the problems and approaches in neighbouring countries. Such comparative knowledge is particularly valuable since information concerning other countries with similar problems is frequently unavailable to policy-makers.

The Multiplier Problem

A basic question concerning the impact of educational activities is whether the Institute should aim to make this directly through the persons who participate in study courses and seminars, or indirectly by means of measures to promote labour studies in different parts of the world. In favour of the direct approach it has been suggested that the Institute should concentrate upon training teachers in its courses. While the formula is tempting, there are limits to its applicability in the case of the Institute. Teacher training is an efficient way to obtain the multiplier effect when the problem is to achieve a more widespread dissemination of an established body of knowledge. As stressed above, however, the Institute has to develop new educational approaches and methods in a field for which there is no established body of knowledge. This is why it must be a laboratory experimenting

in approaches to and methods of leadership education. In order to be an effective laboratory it must draw its participants from the groups to which leadership education is directed. A course composed entirely of educators would falsify the experiment. However, the inclusion of a small number of educators in seminar groups composed largely of the practitioners of labour policy does in part serve the purpose of familiarising some university personnel from developing countries with the Institute's methods so that they can carry out programmes of a similar kind at home. It also puts them in contact with practitioners and helps to encourage the interaction between academics and practitioners which is missing in so many countries. The Institute's seminars and study courses have not, however, been conceived primarily as vehicles for the training of educators. Apart from any direct benefit to the participants themselves, their main value has been as experiments in the development of new educational approaches and methods.

The salient conclusions from the experience of the past five years in educational work has been that the Institute should seek its impact by indirect methods for the promotion of labour studies. This conclusion has come out most clearly from various of the regional seminars conducted by the Institute. Contact with university centres in different developing areas has shown the need for labour studies, the weaknesses inherent in the present position of these studies and the obstacles which need to be overcome in order to further their development.

Three methods have been employed to date as a means of promoting labour studies in developing areas: first, providing teaching materials; second, training educators; and third, reviewing systematically the needs for and obstacles to the development of labour studies in a group of countries.

A beginning has been made in the supply of teaching materials through the International Educational Materials Exchange (IEME). This was initiated following the Institute's seminar for East African countries held at Kikuyu, Kenya, in the spring of 1967. A meeting of university teachers from the area was held in

conjunction with this seminar, which identified the dearth of relevant materials as a major obstacle to the development of labour studies. Textbooks reflecting the situation in more industrialised countries were clearly of limited value, and local materials were lacking. A number of teachers had attempted to fill this gap by preparing case studies and other teaching aids based upon local experience. Such material was, however, unpublished and, in view of the very few contacts amongst those working in the field, did not circulate and thus was not available for widespread use. The IEME aimed to overcome this obstacle by collecting these and other unpublished materials which could be useful in teaching programmes and making them widely available. It is a service provided free of charge through which educators may request documents likely to be useful to them from lists of those available through the Institute. Those who benefit undertake to participate by supplying similar unpublished materials to the Institute. Selection is made by a committee within the Institute according to the pedagogical merits of the material received. In practice, about one item out of fifteen contributed is included in the list for distribution. There are now more than 500 participants in the Exchange and the Institute has to date processed over 10,000 requests for documentation. The Exchange was launched with the support of the Swedish International Development Authority and the Institute now devotes a very small part of its own resources to its maintenance. The response to the IEME indicates that it performs a useful function ; but expansion will depend upon availability of outside financing.

In addition to their inclusion as participants in study courses, the training of educators has been pursued in a modest way through the offering of a few teaching fellowships. These are designed for academics from developing countries teaching in one of the disciplines relevant to labour studies, who wish to expand and improve their teaching and other activities in this field. Teaching fellows are integrated within the Institute staff for periods varying from a few months to a year, in order to

participate with the faculty in the preparation and carrying out of educational activities and to be oriented and guided in research relevant to their future work. They would thus be able to absorb the Institute's methods and experience and become future contacts or correspondents of the Institute in their country. Use of this promising method has been limited by financial resources and particularly by the ability of the Institute's small staff to provide the necessary supervision for individual programmes. Thus to date only five persons have held such fellowships, two from East Africa and three from Latin America. It is expected that during 1971 one or two from French-speaking Africa will be added to that number.

Systematic monitoring of the development of labour studies in a group of countries has been possible so far only in respect of East Africa, thanks to a project initiated in that area in 1967 with the support of the Swedish International Development Authority. The initial seminar was followed up in the autumn of 1969 by a meeting to review the state of labour studies in the countries concerned and to consider further steps to facilitate the development of such studies. In addition, contact has been maintained by correspondence with a number of persons concerned in the field. It is now known that various steps are being taken in different centres in East Africa to expand labour studies. A labour studies institute has, for example, been created at the Haile Selassie University at Addis Ababa ; the University College in Nairobi has plans to increase teaching about labour questions ; and at the University of Khartoum, the Departments of Economics and of Business Administration are developing the labour aspects of their programmes. Certainly teaching fellowships granted and the contacts maintained by the Institute with these centres have been an encouragement to these developments. If the Institute were able to follow up in the same way its regional work in Latin America and western Asia as well as other regional seminars now contemplated, it would undoubtedly be able to have a greater continuing impact on the development of labour studies.

The ILO Internship Courses

While education for modernising leadership in the social field is the Institute's primary educational goal, another objective has been to provide training for national personnel who deal with ILO affairs. The internship programme is especially designed for them. The individuals concerned are more easily identifiable than those for whom the leadership education programmes are intended ; and the results of the Institute's activities for them can be more easily assessed in quantitative terms. There has, for example, been a growing number of former participants in the internship and other courses who attend the International Labour Conference as delegates and advisers. Delegations at recent sessions of the ILO Conference have included from 40 to 50 former participants. Up to the present, the evolution of the Institute's study courses and the internship course have followed similar lines, with the internship course compressing the treatment of some subjects and giving more attention to ILO programmes. In future it may be desirable to consider separately the requirements of the Internship course.

2. Research

Institute research has been directed about equally to problems of developing and economically advanced countries. It has concentrated in one general area, namely social relations and social organisation. Three criteria were defined at the outset : firstly, research should be prospective in the choice of topic ; secondly, it should be comparative in its method ; and thirdly, it should be stimulative of outside participation and in the arousal of outside interest through its approach and in the way projects were organised.

The reasons for these criteria are clear. The Institute's limited resources should be directed to the study of topics relevant to the emerging policy issues. The advantage of an international centre lies in its ability to undertake comparative research. And

limitation in resources makes it clear that the Institute could not and should not attempt to undertake entire research programmes through its own staff ; it must work by acquiring the interest and participation of others in collaborative projects.

Symposia : Migration, Wages, Inflation

One means of stimulating research while at the same time directing attention to policy issues which the Institute has used on a number of occasions is the symposium composed of a mixture of academic specialists and policy-makers. A symposium convened in 1965 explored in a preliminary fashion some of the issues implicit in the migration of unskilled and semi-skilled labour into western European countries. The discussions explored the dangerously explosive but increasingly recurrent combination of economic disadvantage with ethnic difference in generally prosperous societies. The labour market and inflation was the theme of another symposium convened in 1966. The difficulties of applying incomes policies in countries with free market economies and the search for alternative or complementary measures to control cost inflation, which were subjects examined at that symposium, are likewise of continuing and growing importance. Wages policies in economic development, a topic now relevant to the ILO's World Employment Programme, were examined in a further symposium held (with the support of the Danish Board of Technical Co-operation with Developing Countries) in 1967.

The symposium technique has proven to be a useful and relatively economical means of focusing interest on significant issues of social policy. Typically, the Institute staff have defined the relevant issues in a preliminary way, outside academics and some practitioners have prepared papers dealing with aspects of the problems based upon their experience and research, and an analysis of the papers and discussions about them has subsequently been prepared by an Institute staff member or collaborator. Many of the Institute's publications have been the product of symposia.

To go more deeply into a problem a different approach is, however, required. Whereas symposia can bring together and analyse existing knowledge and opinion, a comparative research project creates new data for a number of countries and therefore must be based upon much more carefully worked out definitions of concepts and methods, followed by empirical research. Comparative research projects thus require more time and are more costly. One major project of this kind initiated in 1966 is due to be completed this year : this is the study on workers' participation in management.

Workers' Participation in Management

The participation of workers in the management of undertakings was in 1966 already a subject of debate in a number of countries with different social and political systems and different levels of economic development. In western Europe, some people were thinking of participation as an avenue towards the reform of modern capitalism. In North America, some management specialists were considering participative styles of management as a means towards a more effective human organisation of production. In Socialist countries of Eastern Europe, different approaches towards worker participation were being elaborated and the issue was linked with that of the decentralisation of economic management. In some developing countries, worker participation was looked upon as a means of ensuring the commitment of workers in industrialisation and of widening the recruitment of managerial talent. The topic thus appeared to have considerable interest for the future in different places and for different purposes. It was being debated often on the basis of doctrine and ideology and with very little actual evidence. A comparative study designed to elicit information and to analyse experience without any prior commitment to the virtues or iniquities of particular systems thus seemed potentially useful.

The Institute's approach was to prepare an initial definition of the problem and a plan for research. This was then reviewed by a small meeting of specialists drawn from different areas in the

world in which experiments were being made with varying forms of worker participation. The Institute revised its research design in the light of this discussion and disseminated it widely with a view to attracting the interest of outside scholars and research institutes. During 1967, the collaboration of a number of such research institutes and outside scholars was secured. In this way, considerable research resources beyond those of the Institute itself were brought to bear on the question. These outside scholars and institutes were not only attracted by the intrinsic importance of the topic but glad of the possibility to take part in a comparative study, through which they expected to gain insights from work in other countries which would follow the same approach and methods they would use themselves. These outside studies were, in the main, completed during 1970 and their results are thus now available for comparative analysis by the Institute. This final stage will be completed during 1971, bringing to a conclusion the first major comparative research project undertaken through the Institute.

It is, of course, premature to estimate the value this study will have. Perhaps its first and main merit will be to clarify. Worker participation in management obviously means different things to different groups of people. It is thus necessary first of all to sort out the different goals which are sought through it. Then, there are many different forms through which participation may take place. The appropriateness of different forms of participation for the attainment of specific goals thus has to be considered.

Once this basic task of clarifying aims and means has been carried out, it becomes more feasible to consider the conditions under which certain goals may be attained. For this, it is necessary to sift the factual evidence of experience in the various countries in which research has been undertaken. Another merit of the project has been to produce a considerable volume of new evidence in a form which lends itself to such analysis.

Although the Institute's study will not and did not intend to conclude with policy prescriptions, it should none the less have

practical interest for the policy-maker. It should assist him in considering what structures and policies intended to provide for workers' participation in management are more likely to achieve the results he seeks, and what factors need to be operated upon in order to ensure that such results are achieved. The study will, however, have no pretentions to be definitive. In the first place, the methods employed are not such as to provide quantitative assessments of a firm and unquestionable nature. Secondly, forms of worker participation are continually changing. In view of this continuing and often rapid evolution of the situation concerning worker participation, a study which attempts to clarify the issues and point to the key factors may be of greater practical value than one which awaits fuller evidence in order to pronounce a purportedly final judgement.

Strategic Factors in Industrial Relations

Another research programme initiated several years ago aims at a better understanding of the strategic factors in industrial relations systems. This study begins with the hypothesis that the characteristics of particular industries, notably their technology and markets, determine in a large measure the nature of industrial relations in them; and that these determining factors recur independently of geographical or national characteristics. The point is not so much to prove or disprove this hypothesis as to use it as an avenue towards deeper understanding of the characteristics and dynamics of industrial relations. The approach is to proceed by means of international comparisons of industrial relations in particular industries. This requires that considerable gaps be filled in studies of industrial relations systems of particular industries in different countries. Thus, the Institute hopes through the project initially to stimulate a number of new country-based industry inquiries. From these, as a second stage, international comparisons of systems in particular industries can be prepared. A further stage will be inter-industry comparisons. This project is essentially a long-range effort to apply the comparative method towards better understanding of the struc-

tures and processes of industrial relations and to stimulate a large number of studies in this field. No early conclusions can be expected from it, although partial studies will be prepared as the programme progresses. Some studies have so far been initiated about the engineering industries in a number of countries.

Social Participation in Transitional Societies

The term "participation" has a wider meaning than that which is limited to workers' participation in the management of undertakings. The idea of popular participation has been stressed in current development theory as a desirable or necessary concomitant of economic growth. Used in this sense, popular participation usually comes about through the organisation of the unorganised social groups in the population, particularly peasant groups in the rural areas and the so-called marginal populations of urban areas, namely those who have come to the towns in search of money income and who live in shanty towns and *bidonvilles*, unemployed or underemployed and unintegrated into the urban industrial society. While in this theory popular participation is looked upon as a support to development, the spread of participation in social and political processes to hitherto non-participant strata of the population may also have the effect of challenging established social groups and raising demands for radical social change. The relationship between broadening social participation and social, economic and political change in modernising societies thus merits deeper study.

The Institute began its research in this field by a comparative study of peasant movements initiated in 1967. This study is concerned with the conditions which have led to an awakening of peasant societies, with the aims and leadership of peasant movements and with the factors conditioning success or failure of past movements. It deals with the phase preceding the initiation of major agrarian reforms. A number of outside scholars are collaborating in the study, which should be completed during 1971. It may be desirable to continue with a further study on the

institutionalising of peasant participation following the adoption of agrarian reform measures in different parts of the world.

The Institute has also since 1969 been able to stimulate some fresh thinking and research about social participation in Latin America, using the symposium method. A group of Latin American social scientists met in Mexico City in October 1969 under the auspices of the Institute to carry out what was in effect an extensive review of the existing state of thinking about the nature of marginality in Latin American society and the extent of and obstacles to social participation of different social groups. Following this general review, the Institute has been able to encourage a number of Latin American scholars, in the main younger researchers, to undertake or complete empirical inquiries into particular social groups, and the problems of developing organisations within them. Some of these studies will cover urban industrial workers, but most of them will relate to the unorganised groups, particularly peasants and urban marginals. A preliminary comparative study based upon these findings should be completed by the end of 1971.

The International Industrial Relations Associations (IIRA)

The IIRA has been a medium for expanding the contacts of the Institute among specialists in industrial relations in a number of countries. The Association was established in 1966 as a result of an initiative taken by the Institute together with the British Universities Industrial Relations Association, the Industrial Relations Research Association of the United States, and the Japan Labour Institute. It is a private international association, the aim of which is to encourage the scientific study of industrial relations problems. At the time when the IIRA was established, very few national associations for industrial relations existed. One of the results of its work has been the formation of a considerable number of new national industrial relations associations. To date, seventeen national associations are affiliated, the vast majority of which were created after 1966. The IIRA has already had an impact on the study of industrial relations in two ways :

firstly by encouraging the interdisciplinary approach to this study; and secondly by encouraging the association of practitioners with academic specialists in the promotion of scientific inquiry. As regards the second point, the practices of national associations vary, some being confined to academic specialists while others include persons from government, trade unions and management who participate as individuals rather than as representatives of organisations.

The IIRA has so far convened two world congresses, both in Geneva with meeting-rooms made available by the ILO. The first met in 1967 and comprised 204 participants from 39 countries; the second was held in 1970 and comprised 351 participants from 47 countries. The Institute has provided the secretariat for the IIRA and has organised these two congresses. A third congress will be held in 1973.

The Stimulative Role of the IILS Bulletin

In addition to the books published for the Institute by its commercial publishers (Macmillan for English-language publications and the Librairie Sociale et Economique for French-language publications), the IILS *Bulletin* has appeared since 1966. The *Bulletin* was conceived as a reflection of the Institute's activities. Initially it was addressed to the several different groups who were associated with Institute programmes: to participants and ex-participants in Institute educational activities; to policy-makers sensing the need for a forum in which to discuss some current social policy issues; and to researchers in the different disciplines concerned with labour studies. The *Bulletin* has never played nor sought to play the role of a journal seeking articles by outsiders, but has published only material prepared in connection with the Institute's ongoing activities. It is also a medium for information about the activities of the Institute and the IIRA. The primary role of the *Bulletin* has come to be that of arousing outside interest in and support for Institute research activities, by making research designs and preliminary results of research projects known and by reporting at intervals on their

progress. It is thus a vehicle for texts which are essentially stimulative and experimental. Completed studies are published in book form. There has been a growing favourable response to the *Bulletin*, particularly from research institutes and scholars in many countries.

An Unresolved Problem

One basic obstacle limits the full development of the Institute's role as a stimulator of research and studies in the labour field. There has been a good response from countries in which research facilities are already fairly well developed; but it has been much more difficult to make an impact in countries where this is not the case. Generally the latter are among the economically underdeveloped countries. Thus membership and participation in the IIRA tends to be predominantly from the more developed countries. This is especially true as regards the creation of national associations, although there has been an encouraging increase in the number of individual scholars from economically less-developed countries who are participating in the work of the IIRA. Similarly, the Institute's comparative research projects have found a readier response from research institutions in the economically more-advanced countries and have had greater difficulty in securing participation of institutes and scholars in less-developed countries. The costs of developing labour studies where these are now very limited or non-existent are considerable, and much time will be required even with the most favourable conditions. The Institute's earlier-mentioned activities for the promotion of labour studies should in the long run help correct the present imbalance. For the present, it must be recognised that the Institute's resources do not enable it to organise and finance research in developing countries on any significant scale.

II. Forward Look

Some ideas can now be put forward as to the future directions of Institute research and education work during the next phase of

its existence which is shortly to begin. These ideas are based upon the experience of the recent past, upon the particular capabilities and aptitudes of the Institute as it now is, and upon a perception of needs and opportunities for labour studies.

The Futurology of Industrial Relations

The Institute has under way a study on future trends in industrial relations which was initiated last summer at the request of the ILO.[1] The study covers all parts of the world and adopts a broad definition of industrial relations, namely, social relations in production. Thus it is concerned not only with organised industrial relations, e.g. collective bargaining between trade unions and employer organisations within a framework provided by the State, but also with labour relations which exist in the absence of formal organisations. One important question about the future concerns the extent to which and manner in which unorganised systems become organised. The definition is not limited to "industry" in the conventional sense but applies to all types of production. It is concerned with how the functions of making work rules and distributing the rewards of production are performed, whatever the institutional context.

The project is an example of convergent interests on the part of the ILO and the Institute. For the ILO, it is important to be able to consider future programme orientation in the light of anticipated trends and emerging issues. The study will thus be one contribution to the ILO's programme planning process as regards industrial relations activities. The project was a challenge to the Institute which came at a propitious time. The Institute is completing five years of initial research in areas relevant to industrial relations, several of the projects mentioned above being due for completion during 1971. The comprehensive sweep of the study on future trends will enable the Institute to place its past work in a broad perspective and to identify areas for useful future

[1] This project is more fully described in Robert W. Cox: "Approaches to a Futurology of Industrial Relations", IILS *Bulletin*, No. 8, p. 139.

research. It is also providing an opportunity to develop new research methods appropriate to prospective research. Hitherto the "prospective" criterion has been applied in the choice of topics for study ; but now it can be applied also to methods of inquiry. Although the largest part of the resources required to carry out this project will come from the Institute's own budget, the ILO is making a financial contribution towards it.

In human affairs it must be recognised that prediction has limits. To maintain the contrary would be to deny the capacity of societies to shape their own future, and to accept that human behaviour is determined. There are of course limits to freedom as there are limits to determinism. A prospective study in a field like industrial relations can only point to trends, probabilities and options. It can attempt to define the kinds of issues which are likely to arise, without being able to predict the outcomes. Being able to foresee future problems may, in the first place, be thought of as enhancing a society's ability to control its own future. The process of attempting to foresee the issues which the future holds is, in the second place, a hard test of the adequacy of the existing science of industrial relations and a stimulus to the advancement of this science. The ILO will be most interested in the first aspect : framing policies to shape the future in desired directions. The Institute will also be interested in the second aspect, as regards its own future work.

Industrial Relations and Public Policy

It seems likely that industrial relations will remain a salient area of governmental concern in many of the economically advanced countries with market economies, especially where governments continue to be preoccupied with their inability to control cost inflation. As governments seek to play a more active role in this respect, they are likely to disturb existing patterns of industrial relations. Controversy surrounds the notion of public interest, how it is to be defined and by whom, and how in practice it can be made to guide or influence wage settlements. A process of experimentation with new procedures and attempts to adapt

existing systems of industrial relations by linking them more closely with public policy seems likely to continue. One element in this process is provided by economic analysis, which suggests guidelines for wages and prices taking account notably of the interaction of national levels of prices and incomes with international trade and payments. Institute research would have little to offer in respect of these economic aspects which are monitored and analysed by well-staffed and well-equipped national and international agencies. The extent to which such guidelines can be effective depends, however, not only upon the will of governments but also upon management and trade unions.

The interplay of influences and interests within both the management and trade union sides in industrial relations, as well as within government, conditions the possibilities of co-operation among them. Moreover, the organisational structures and the location of decision-making powers on both union and management sides are changing under the impact of technological and economic changes. Innovations like plant productivity bargaining, issues of authority between shop stewards and central trade union leaders, the growing prominence of multinational corporations and the varied efforts of governments to define and apply incomes policies are some of the manifestations of changes in the issues and the underlying organisational structures of industrial relations. The Institute can usefully continue its research on industrial relations by giving greater attention to these organisational factors in the growing interaction between government, employers and unions.

Social Policy in the Post-Industrial Society

More broadly, the whole concept of social policy in countries moving towards the post-industrial era is in mutation. Existing institutions of social policy were established twenty-five and more years ago in response to the salient social problems of the industrial societies of that earlier time. Though many of the old problems seem likely to remain as goals of public policy, e.g. the maintenance of income security and of high levels of employ-

ment, the old problems will arise in a fundamentally changed context and new issues are at the same time coming to prominence. Many of these new issues relate to special groups in the population, for example : youth, old people, women, and ethnic minority groups. Some relate to what is more generally called the quality of life and are concerned with the creation of a satisfactory physical environment and of opportunities for satisfying personal needs and interests. Thus questions are raised as to the adequacy of existing institutions of social policy and the innovations in policy and institutions which may become desirable.

It would seem useful to attempt a wide-ranging forward look in the social policy field, just as we are now doing in industrial relations. The Institute took a first step in this direction through a symposium on future social policy requirements of modern societies held in 1969, and intends to follow this up with further research.

One direction of future inquiry will be into methods of measuring changes in social conditions, the development of social indicators, social reporting and social accounting.[1]

Another direction of inquiry will be towards the clarification of the concept of social need, which may be thought of variously as the needs of individuals, of groups and of the community as a whole for certain public goods. It may be possible to adapt some of the research methods being devised now for the study of future trends in industrial relations to the consideration of future social policy. What is envisaged here is not an item by item approach but rather a broad mapping of the emerging pattern of social needs.

A third direction of inquiry concerns how decisions about social policy are in practice made and thus which needs are most likely to be satisfied and how priorities may be fixed. The purpose

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[1] See, for example, the articles grouped under the heading "Approaches to Social Policy Planning" in IILS *Bulletin*, No. 7, especially Mancur Olson : "New Problems for Social Policy : The Rationale of Social Indicators and Social Reporting".

of such analysis of the distribution of effective social power is not to be able to predict outcomes but rather as a step towards enhancing popular control over decision-making so as to diminish a sense of alienation on the part of individuals and social groups, who now feel powerless to influence the course of social policy.

Transnational Labour Relations

The expansion of multinational corporations, particularly during the past decade, has evoked considerable interest and speculation concerning its effects upon the international distribution of economic activities and upon the progress and rates of economic development in different parts of the world, and regarding likely changes in the structure of international trade and payments. Many issues have been raised concerning the relations of multinational corporations with States, particularly as to whether the future effectiveness of some of the classical instruments of States for the management of economic policy may be diminished. There is also a growing interest in the labour aspects of the expansion of multinational corporations, and the beginnings of transnationally co-ordinated bargaining are discernible. Other changes in economic structures which also affect labour may come from regional economic integration ; and the two types of change—the enlargement of regional markets and the expansion of world-wide multinational corporations—may prove to be mutually reinforcing. A whole area of issues concerned with transnational processes affecting labour is emerging.

The Institute began its consideration of these transnational processes through a symposium convened in 1969. Studies in this area might usefully continue in several directions. One is to study personnel and industrial relations policies of multinational corporations. Another concerns the role of the international trade secretariats for the co-ordination of trade union action across national boundaries vis-à-vis multinational corporations. Individual cases of transnationally co-ordinated bargaining might also be analysed with a view to understanding more fully the force behind these apparent transnational tendencies and their

possible implications not only for the workers and managements immediately concerned but for societies more broadly.

Social Participation and Organisation Building in Transitional Societies

One of the big questions about the future of industrial relations concerns the extension of organised systems of industrial relations in the now less developed areas of the world. The kinds of industrial relations systems that will emerge there will depend very much upon how the problems of social participation in these countries are approached and, hopefully, solved. It will therefore be important for the Institute to continue to carry out and stimulate studies about the extension of social participation i developing societies. Studies such as those now initiated Latin America could be undertaken in other areas of the world opportunities permit.

Social and economic development can in one sense be thought of as a problem in organisation building. The distinction between traditional and modern sectors in a society can be expressed to a large extent in terms of the level of development of formal organisations, and this applies particularly in the social policy sphere where the growth of trade unions and other popular organisations is a particularly significant indicator of social participation. Thus studies on social participation will focus on problems of leadership and organisation building, on the ways in which organisations may be created amongst low-status social groups and how these can be linked in with the central institutions which make social policy for the society.

A Comprehensive Approach to the Promotion of Labour Studies

The appraisal of past activities suggested that regional educational projects addressed to institutions and individuals in a limited number of countries having somewhat similar characteristics and problems have the greatest promise for making effective impact towards the development of labour studies. Experience has

also suggested that the participation from many developing countries in Institute research projects would probably continue to be limited by a shortage of research resources. The inference to be drawn is that the Institute's efforts to attract the support of local research talent in projects of concern to developing areas should be approached as part of a broader effort to promote labour studies. Research by Institute collaborators in these countries not only serves the immediate needs for knowledge to which research projects are directed ; it also serves, albeit in a modest way, as encouragement for the longer-term development of social research facilities in these countries.

The aim of promoting labour studies, both in education and research, can most effectively be pursued through regional programmes which are conceived comprehensively, encompassing a variety of methods : a seminar or workshop addressed primarily to practitioners, though associating some university teachers ; a research symposium uncovering and bringing together local research talent ; the extension of the IEME ; provision of teaching fellowships ; and recurrent monitoring of developments and problems in labour studies in the countries concerned followed by further joint activities with persons and centres in these countries. It would be desirable in future to continue and expand this approach, although it must be borne in mind that this will require more funds than are at present available to the Institute on a continuing basis.

As this approach is followed, it will be important to think through more fully the two-way relationship between these regional programmes and Geneva-based educational activities.

The laboratory function of the Geneva-based study courses will continue to be important for designing and testing new educational approaches. Educational needs identified through regional programmes can guide the choice of new approaches. For example, studies on social participation suggest that in future Institute educational activities should devote attention to organisation building as well as to social policy decision-making. A body of organisation theory has been evolved in recent decades,

but little has yet been done to adapt this theory to the conditions of developing countries or to devise educational methodology for teaching organisation-building skills. It would be eminently suitable for the Institute to take on this task both because it is an important one for social development and also because it will require innovation in educational methods.

As well as developing educational tools the need for which is suggested by developing areas regional programmes, the Institute should find ways of making the products of its educational development efforts more widely known and used. At present, the possibility of "packaging for export" the simulation exercise on manpower, educational and economic planning is being studied. It may be that other facets of the curricula of Institute courses and seminars could similarly be made more widely available. This would be in effect an extension of the IEME idea.

Another link between regional programmes and the Geneva-based courses might be to use the former increasingly as a means of selecting limited numbers of participants for the latter. At a suitable interval after participation in a regional programme a few of the participants in this programme could be given an opportunity for further study in Geneva, either as teaching fellows or for shorter periods as participants in a more advanced type of study course. Regional seminars use the cross-national comparative method within groups of countries having some broad similarities ; and a part of their success arises from the ease of working with relatively homogeneous groups. The Geneva courses or seminars would then be designed for those who could benefit from an inter-regional comparative approach.

Both regional programmes and Geneva-based educational activities would then be conceived as aspects of a comprehensive approach to the promotion of labour studies which will feed new material into the IEME, provide varied experience for teaching fellows who will carry on the work of the Institute in their own countries, and follow through with various kinds of assistance and encouragement for labour studies centres in developing countries.

This comprehensive approach based upon a dynamic interaction of regional and Geneva-based activities would have as its ultimate goal the establishment throughout the developing world of a series of locally supported national and regional counterparts to the Institute carrying on a continuing labour studies activity. Because this approach involves study in depth of the labour problems of particular countries it will contribute to a better definition of research needs and thus to a more direct and fruitful relationship between the educational and research work of the Institute. Such a pattern of activities can only be achieved over a long period of further growth; but it may perhaps be useful to have the goal in view as a new phase in the Institute's existence opens.

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